

BUILDING A COUNTRY-LEVEL COMPARATIVE APPROACH FOR GRASPING THE YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN SUB- SAHARAN AFRICA

CONSTRUIRE UNE APPROCHE COMPARATIVE AU NIVEAU NATIONAL POUR APPREHENDER L'EMPLOI DES JEUNES EN AFRIQUE SUB-SAHARIENNE

Pierre Girard, économiste

Introduction

The sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) countries have slowly begun their demographic transition and they should be able to reap the benefits of the demographic dividend, if they can stimulate economic development and facilitate the generation of enough jobs. What is specific in sub-Saharan Africa is that a large part of the workforce will continue to live in rural areas and agriculture has still a strong weight in the GDP and in the economically active population of most of SSA countries (Losch 2012). These specific dynamics invite us to focus the debate on cohorts of rural young people looking for income generating activities.

As Philipps (2014) argues, there is often a methodological problem of African youth research: “as it deals with an oversized analytical category, namely, ‘youth’, it has largely failed to disaggregate youth’s diversity”. That’s why, he advocates for comparison researches as potential solutions for this problem. Indeed, a comparative perspective is useful to investigate how different contexts, be they geographical, economic, political or professional, impact young people and to up-scale to understand and explain the similarities and differences among locally and historically specific units of analysis (Philipps 2014).

Although a comparative approach may constitute a richer understanding on youth employment, it raises concrete choices to make in order to identify which geographical areas we are going to study. The choice of these areas will have huge impacts on what we will see and what we won’t see about youth employment and structural change. The purpose of this paper is to present the comparison approach I adopted for choosing the two sub-Saharan countries where I am going to study the rural youth employment issue. First, we remind our problematic. Then, we lay out the steps of our comparative approach. Lastly, we expose long-term data of our chosen indicators, using international and national databases.

1. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN SSA: THE PROBLEMATIC ISSUE

1.1 The « African equation »: the predominant role of agriculture in the demo-economic transition

Sub-Saharan African demo-economic dynamics are clearly calling into question the terms of the countries' development trajectories. The linear and deterministic vision behind the orthodox model of economic transition is not sufficiently questioned today (Losch, Freguin-Gresh, and White 2012) whereas it's still very current in African policies and in programs of international development institutions. As demonstrated by Losch, Freguin-Gresh, and White (2012) and Filmer, Fox, and World Bank (2014), economic transition has barely begun in SSA: fifty years after independence, the countries of this region are still marked by the weight of agriculture in their GDP and in the occupation of their population; urbanization was not accompanied with industrialization. The lack of a strong manufacturing sector in SSA (despite a few exceptions such as Ethiopia) explains that labour force has increased especially in agriculture and in the urban informal sector, which played a damping role for African population (Losch, Freguin-Gresh, and White 2012, McMillan, Rodrik, and Verduzco-Gallo 2014, UNCTAD 2014). Even the strong growth since the early 2000s, essentially due to exogenous drivers (driven by the commodity boom), is not sufficient to create enough activity and to lower poverty rates; the investment rate remained lower in SSA than in other regions (UNCTAD 2014) .

Besides these economic considerations, there is the sub-Saharan demographic challenge: the labour force will increase by 800 million people by 2050 which represents 62 % of the global expansion (Filmer, Fox, and World Bank 2014; Fox, Senbet, and Simbanegavi 2016). The sub-Saharan countries have slowly begun their demographic transition and they should be able to reap the benefits of the demographic dividend, but it is still necessary that the economies generate enough jobs. This situation is not new, it can refer to other parts of the world, but the "African equation" is unique because the time is not the same: the economic, demographic, institutional, geopolitical and environmental contexts have changed, preventing any replication of previous development pathways (Losch: forthcoming). Especially, international migrations which had absorbed the European surplus labour in XIXth century is not a reproducible pathway for SSA and rather we observe an explosion of national and regional migrations without break of links and ties with the areas of origin of migrants (Satterthwaite and Tacoli 2003). In this equation, we assume that the demographic dynamics in the African continent will determine the conditions for activity creation.

1.2 The strong links between youth and demo-economic transition

These demographic dynamics invite us to focus the debate on cohorts of young people looking for income generating activities. This issue arises as a quantitative point of view, the number of young people looking for a good work, but the increasing qualification of today's African young people has also to be taken into account; that is a qualitative point of view. In fact, the youth currently looking for work is the "Millennium Development Goals generation".

That is to say that more people went to school (even if the quality of the education has to be questioned²) and today's youth are globally in better health than their parents.

First of all, there is no agreed definition of youth. The 15–24 age bracket ranges are commonly used, notably by the UN agencies, but the African Union defines youth as the 15–35 year age group. The 15–24 age group represents 20% of today's African population and, contrary to other regions, this youth share will remain high and stable (19% in 2050) (Losch 2013). In absolute terms, SSA's youth will grow from nearly 200 million in 2015 to nearly 400 million in 2050, and its share in the labour force will remain the highest in the world, even if declining. Beyond the statistical definition, we propose to have a definition of youth related to a period of transition during which the economic, social and cultural dependencies evolve. The entry in adulthood is characterized by the overcoming of three thresholds: departure from the family, entry in union and entry in professional life (Antoine, Razafindrakoto, and Roubaud 2001). The crossing of these three steps is not so easily as before (Boyer and Guénard 2014).

Given the emergency of the demographic challenge and the integration of rural youth, many initiatives and visions are emerging in recent years within African governments and the development community. Many of them are over-targeted, over-specialized and very normative, considering youth as a homogeneous group requiring specific support through standardized actions (Sumberg *et al.* 2012). As a consequence, they are somewhat disconnected from the global picture. In addition, these initiatives tend to mainly target the needs of urban youth, leaving their rural counterparts aside (DIAL 2007). Globally, the specific programs addressing youth specifics are often at risk of considering youth in isolation, as if they were on an island, while the challenge of youth employment is fully embedded in the complexity of Africa's transformation (Losch: forthcoming). In fact, youth is a major part of the problem and of the solution in the demo-economic transition.

1.3 Employment, work, activity for youth: what approach is relevant for SSA?

Demo-economic transition and youth occupation issues raise the question of the activity generation in SSA. The latter is linked to the overwhelming importance of agriculture - mainly family farming - on one side, and of family businesses, on the other. They are respectively estimated at 62% and 22% of total employment, while the formal activities, mainly based on wage labour, account for only 16% of the total - industrial jobs representing less than 4% - (Filmer, Fox, and World Bank 2014). Within the informal sector, the statuses of workers are varied: independent, family-paid worker, family unpaid-worker, etc. Moreover, the legal rules of labour law exist most of the time but are apply very partially (Vernières 2008).

Consequently, due to the predominance of the informal economy, the measurement of unemployment is very difficult and unemployment figures for the youth are very low and conservative as a consequence of the broad definition of employment itself (AfDB *et al.* 2012;

² Pritchett, 2013: "Few of these billion students will receive an education that adequately equips them for their future. The poor quality of education worldwide constitutes a learning crisis". See also Fox *et al* 2012 on SSA education levels.

that activity diversification strategies are built from the agricultural sector and induce cross-sectoral and spatial interactions between rural and urban, through migrations. For instance, in Ghana, (Okali and Sumberg 2012) demonstrate that capital accumulation strategies by young people are coming from tomatoes production (the “quick money”) and that this capital is then invested in non-farm activities (which could include migration). Rather than considering migration as a consequence of development, we propose instead to see them, under some circumstances, as crucial in the development of local productive capacities (Abreu 2012, Mercandalli 2015). While putting agricultural activity at the center, our positioning therefore incorporates the multi-sectoral dimension of household’s activities.

The assumption is that new regulations for the mobilization of labour force are arising and this thesis aims to identify changes in the rules governing the mobilization of labour force in production structures; what we call structural change. We will mobilize the *capital-labour nexus* concept which consists of all institutional conditions governing the use of the workforce and the reproduction of the existence of workers in the production systems (see below). Consequently, this work would like to pay attention to the reproduction of capital which underlies the socio economic reproduction of sub-Saharan productive structures (our unit of analysis will be rural households’ livelihoods). Three main hypotheses guiding the research are:

- The sustainability of accumulation patterns and reproduction of capital within households’ livelihoods, interacting with the capitalist mode of production, are pivotal in the generation of activity because they determine investment opportunities and levels;
- The relation to land is key to create not only farm activities but also off-farm activities. One of the challenges of the research will be to determine if there is a primacy of capital or land in activity generation;
- Young people seek to change the family rules governing productive resources in order to generate incomes more directly related to the creation of their own activity and to capture a portion of the accumulated capital for their own investment.

2. BUILDING A COUNTRY-LEVEL COMPARATIVE APPROACH FOR GRASPING THE YOUTH EMPLOYMENT CHALLENGE

2.1 A comparison relying on conceptual categories founded on a theory

2.1.1 Why and how compare?

The interest of the comparison is to identify common rules beyond the unique historical conditions of social phenomena. As Théret (1997) highlights, the comparison can "understand and explain what is both common and different in the various human societies providing perspective to the whole society with more "reasonable" bases, but also less immediate reflection to action". In our research, identifying common rules is a priority in order to clear patterns and to contribute to theoretical reflections. For comparing, we suggest to do a double inductive/deductive movement.

First, it is essential to put the categories in the heart of our research, they are the "compass" of the comparison (Dogan and Pélassy 1982). To elaborate these categories, we propose to use historicized intermediate concepts. Second, as Théret (1997) remarks, "only a theory may base the choice of the level of abstraction where generalities can be set and where the specific may be reported to a common standard. Thus, only a general downward movement based on a deductive approach and grounded on defined concepts, will be able to provide a comprehensive typology of models saturating the empirical field. Mobilizing this double movement induction/deduction, we suggest then to:

- Build a common structure to the all situations observed;
- Deduce logically all suitable models, at an intermediate level of abstraction;
- Test the ideal-type of each of this model putting them in relation with inductive researches.

This approach is quite similar with that one laid out by Philipps (2014), called the variation-finding comparative method, which transcend the debilitating dichotomy between empirical and theoretical researches. As he says: "Without emphasizing one at the expense of the other, they confront the researcher with empirical diversity and ask her to make theoretical sense of it, leading to hypotheses that can then again be refuted on the basis of empirical data". Different from deeply inductive cases study, the variation-finding method searches for patterns across cases and, to a certain degree, implies universal causality assumptions.

2.1.2 Two concepts mobilized: *productivity regime* and *capital-labour nexus* concept

The added value resulting from activity depends on the *productivity regime*. The latter allows describing how productivity gains (past and present) are acquired, given the advanced capital, the labour force used and the production techniques implemented, and how these gains are shared. This sharing of the value of the product obtained between consumption, savings and investment, in turn determines the future activity. Beyond the monetary sharing, we also have to take into account the symbolic and non-merchant value. This symbolic dimension is often important in African societies.

As highlighted by Lacroix, Mollard, and Bel (1995), in agriculture, fixed and circulating capital is also combined with natural resources, including land. Given the ongoing dominance of agriculture among economic activities in sub-Saharan rural areas (Losch, Freguin-Gresh, and White 2012), we consider land as a part of the productivity regime. In the end, this is the relationship between land-labour-capital and production techniques that we take into account for analyzing productivity regimes in SSA's economies. Reflecting this definition, the evolution of the productivity regime could have several causes (Boyer, 2015):

- A technical change which depends itself on innovation on products or innovation on production process (acquisition of new equipment more efficient, changes in work organization, learning effects);
- An increase in investment;
- An obtaining of increasing returns related to the division of labour and the organization of production;

- A better division of labour between productive structures.

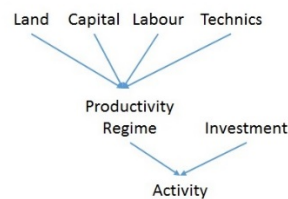
In order to describe the different components of the productivity regime, we suggest to use the capital-labour nexus concept (Laurent, Mouriaux, and Mundler 2006, Boyer 2015) which consists of all institutional conditions governing the use of the workforce and the reproduction of the existence of workers in the production systems. As underlined by Michel and Oudin (2003), the concept of “mobilization of labour” overtakes that of “labour market” as it opens the analysis by integrating social relations underlying economic system. First, the aim of the study is to understand how all the institutions governing the strategies and behaviors of young people in building their activities for socioeconomic insertion have evolved in time. Secondly, this work wants to highlight the implications of such specific settings in terms of accumulation patterns and their sustainability. To achieve these goals, four components of the *capital-labour nexus* concept will be deeply studied:

- The modalities of access to means of production (especially land and capital);
- The forms of social and technical division of labour;
- The employment status, methods of hiring and methods of payment;
- The education and training systems to see the matching between youth skills and the need of the productive system.

2.1.3 Implications for the choice of fieldworks: what are we going to compare?

From the concept of productivity regime, we suggest a first level of elementary structure related to activity creation and a logical deduction of possible configurations (see Figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1 : Elementary structure of activity creation

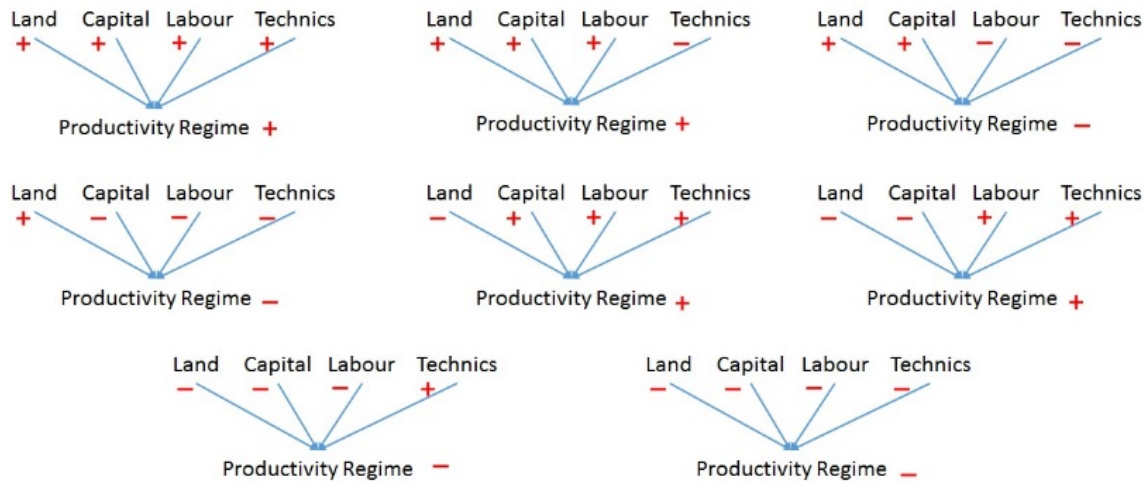


First of all, these different configurations are relevant for the choice of our case studies. We will have to choose which variables will change and what variables will remain parameters. As Sartori (1991) says: “no variable is inherently independent or dependent, and what is treated as a parameter in one investigation may become the operative variable in another”. In our comparative approach, the link between concepts and the choice of fieldworks implies compromises on “what we will see and what we will not see”.

By using a binary logic, we propose different reliable configurations of the productivity regime (see Figure 2); the diversity of models has to be faced to the fieldwork realities. This

modeling does not mean that just one configuration is reliable for the studied areas. In fact, there may be a major configuration and hybridization (mix) between several models.

Figure 2 : The whole set of potential configurations for productivity regime



For the choice of our case studies, we will have to choose between land, labour, capital and technics. A first way to grasp the evolution of these variables is to establish some stylized facts for the choice of the countries to compare, and then the territories to compare.

2.2 *The articulation between spatial scales: from concepts to criteria for the choice of compared countries and study areas*

2.2.1 From concepts to criteria

From the concept of productivity regime, we established several criteria for the choice of two countries and study areas in both countries:

- Capital: international and national migrations, remittances, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), Gross Capital Formation (GCF), export structure;
- Land: density, potential arable land/rural active population, competition with investors in agriculture;
- Labour: life expectancy, average years of schooling, food availability;
- Technics: average years of schooling, international and national migrations.

As shown in the Table 1, criteria have not the same relevancy depending on the scale.

Phélinas 2014)³. If the unemployment rates in developing countries are lower than in developed countries, it is because in the absence of any form of social protection guaranteed by the Welfare State; being unemployed is a luxury that the poor cannot afford. As Dimova and Nordman (2014) say, "the focus on unemployment rates as standard of joblessness is inadequate for understanding the stagnation of productive employment in developing countries". According to Beaujeu *et al.* (2011), the lack of opportunity of decent jobs will be less reflected by a high unemployment rate than by the creation of activities in the informal economy. More than unemployment, the problem in SSA is the population underemployment, that is to say, the mismatch between the duration or the productivity of the employment of a person in relation to its availability and its capacity (Boyer and Guénard 2014; Phélinas 2014). Either underemployment is characterized by an insufficient number of working hours or by a low labour productivity resulting from poor distribution of labour force.

In the literature, the issue of employment is usually approached under the issue of labour markets and methodologies are based on employment indicators with a low availability and a low reliability of data, as it has been demonstrated by several researchers (DIAL 2007; Oya 2010; Oya and Pontara 2015; Dimova and Nordman 2014). On the side of the analysis of the labour demand, surveys often boil down to data on a few companies of the studied countries, which represents a tiny fraction of the workers. Beyond the lack of data on labour markets, even if African youth is totally interweaved in labour markets (Oya and Pontara 2015), this entry is insufficient to understand the way by which African countries will generate incomes for youth.

Finally, the term "employment" often refers to a work (that is to say the implementation of a paid activity) joined with social rights. Given the extent of the situation we have just described, we prefer the concept of activity that takes into account all efforts to ensure an income, direct or indirect, resulting from a merchant report or not. This definition allows taking into account the implementation of activities related to a "social necessity" that does not necessarily give rise to remuneration (or in kind and informal remunerations) but keeps essential social ties with "community." It is quite possible that these social constraints play an important part in the time available for rural youth and they call into question these limits.

1.4 Analyzing the driving forces shaping structural change

Given the different SSA's temporalities between demographic and socio-economic dynamics, it is worth strengthening existing productive capacities. As Michel and Oudin (2003) underline, "in a context of strong growth in labour supply, increasing the demand for labour is not only constrained by insufficient investment, but also by difficulties fixing the labour force in new contexts that usually disrupt social organization".

Given the pivotal role of agriculture in sub-Saharan economies and demographic forecasts that show that rural population will continue to grow in absolute terms (even if its share will continue to decline slowly), existing productive capacities need to be improved firstly in the agricultural sector agriculture (including all the whole value chain). Therefore, we assume

³ According to ILO, "the employed comprise all persons above a specific age who during a specified brief period, either one week or one day, were in the following categories: paid employment (... or) self-employment (...). Unpaid family workers at work should be considered as in self-employment irrespective of the number of hours worked during the reference period."

Table 1: Process and selection of criteria

Geographic scale	Main criteria for the choice	Source of data
National (Country)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Structural change: agricultural GDP/Global GDP, agricultural active population/Global active population - International and national migrations and remittances - Average years of schooling - Large-scale land acquisitions - FDI - Export structuration 	International databases: WDI, UNEP, Land matrix, GGDC, AfDB National census
Productive territory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Agro-ecological context - Types of farming - Potential arable land - Large-scale land acquisitions - Migration dynamics - Cross-sectoral diversification: manufacturing, mines, others 	National databases Bibliography
Locality = study area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Representativeness with respect to the productive territory - Local contacts: administration, etc. 	First field mission

2.2.2 Choice of the comparison countries: results

The initial comparison countries were Malawi, Mozambique, Senegal and Zambia. We present there only the main results in order to show why we proposed to retain Zambia in comparison with Senegal. In order to identify common features and differences between these countries, we established a set of data's on the long-term relative to the selected criteria at the national level (see Table 1) by using international databases.

Demographics and structural change

The first indicators concern the characterization of the demo-economic transition in each country. If all the studied countries are at the same demographic transition step and a majority of their population lives in rural areas (cf. Figure 3), noteworthy differences exist on the contribution of economic sectors (agriculture, industry, services) to GDP and to employment (cf. Figures 5). Malawi is an agriculture-based country because agriculture represents 30% of GDP and the sector employs 70% of the active population, whereas Zambia and Senegal are intermediate countries. Namely, the agricultural sector counts less for GDP (16% in Senegal and 10% in Zambia) and employs less people. Zambia is specific because of the importance of its industrial sector (manufacturing of copper cathodes from copper mines) which contributes to 1/3 of GDP versus 1/5 for the others countries. This contribution to GDP is very changing depending on world prices for copper. For example, during the 60s, industrial sector contributed to 60% of GDP in Zambia. In Senegal, the service sector is stable since the

60s (60% of GDP). Therefore, in these two countries where agriculture is still employing the majority of active population, diversification options seem to be different. A hypothesis is that in Zambia mining jobs have an influence on youth integration strategies whereas services have an importance in diversification activity for Senegalese youth.

Figure 3 : Evolution of the percentage of rural and urban population in the four countries (source: author's graphics from WPP 2014)

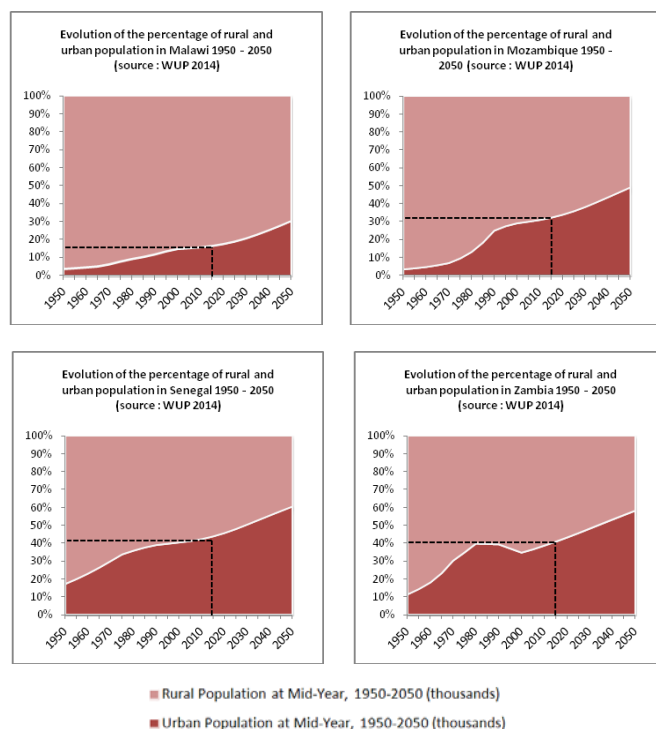
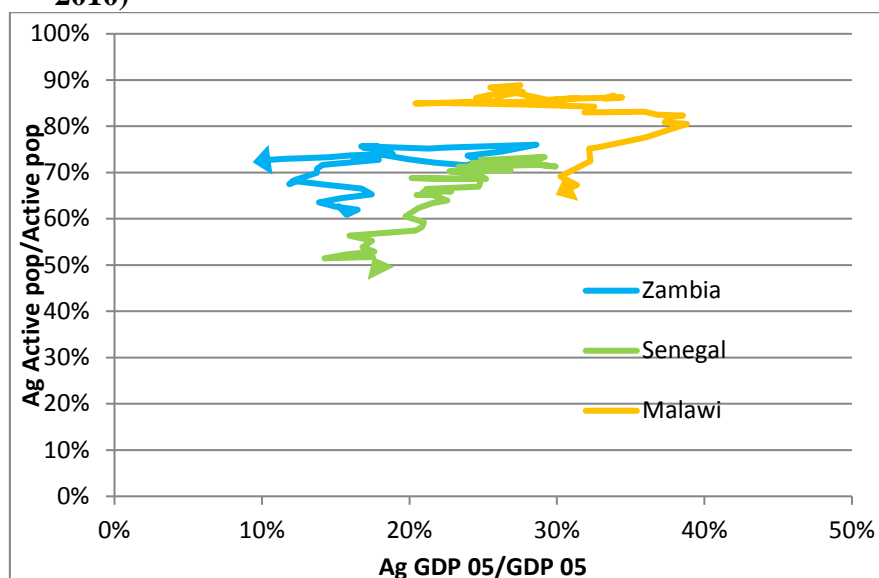


Figure 4: Stylized view of structural change in 3 countries + South Africa (1970-2010)

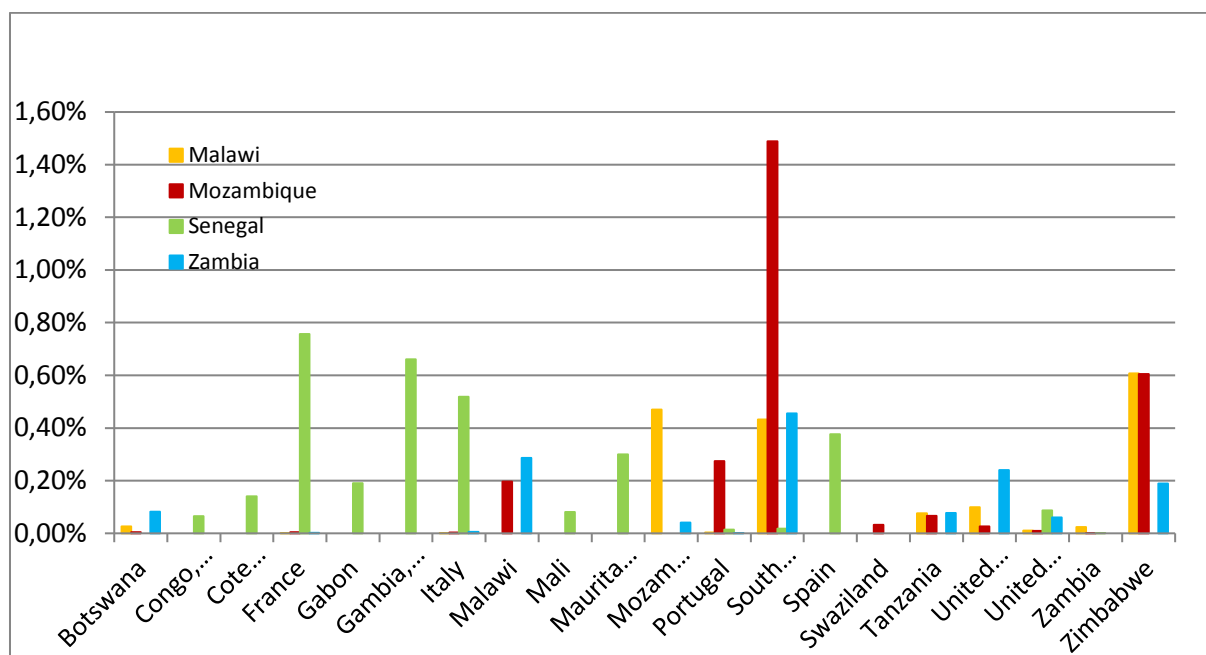


N.B: Mozambique is not represented because of the lack of data
(Source: author's graphics from GGDC)

International and national migrations

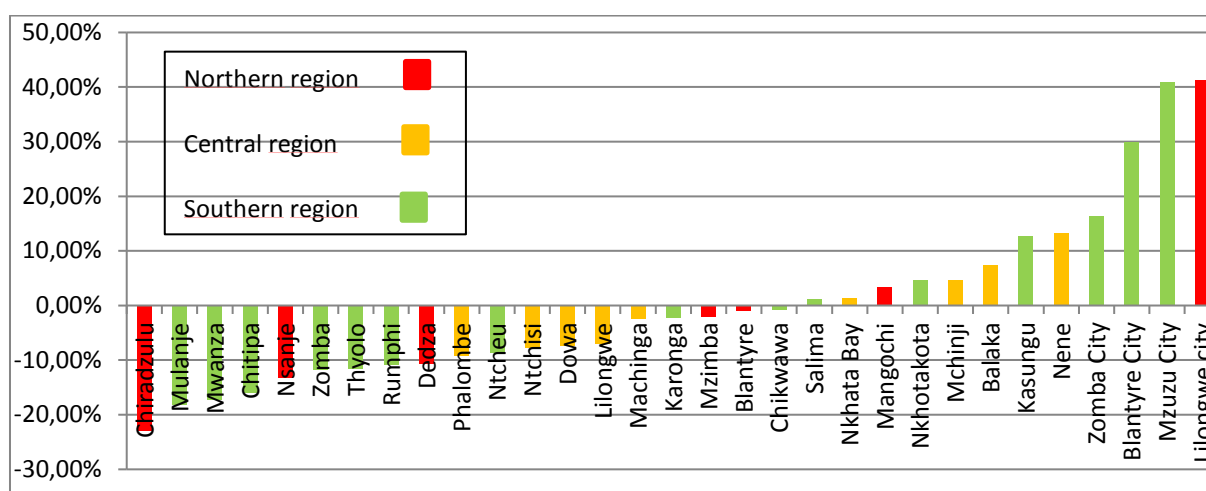
Because of their importance in the generation of activity, especially in capital accumulation patterns, we also analyze international (cf. Figure 5) and national migration (cf. Figures 7, 8, 9, 10). A common result in Zambia and Senegal is that national migrations from rural to urban and rural to urban areas are strong. In Zambia, the turn-over of population seems to be high in the mining region. In Senegal, international migrations contributes to 10% of GDP, this is a remarkable difference with others countries.

Figure 5: Bilateral net migration 2013 (% of population)



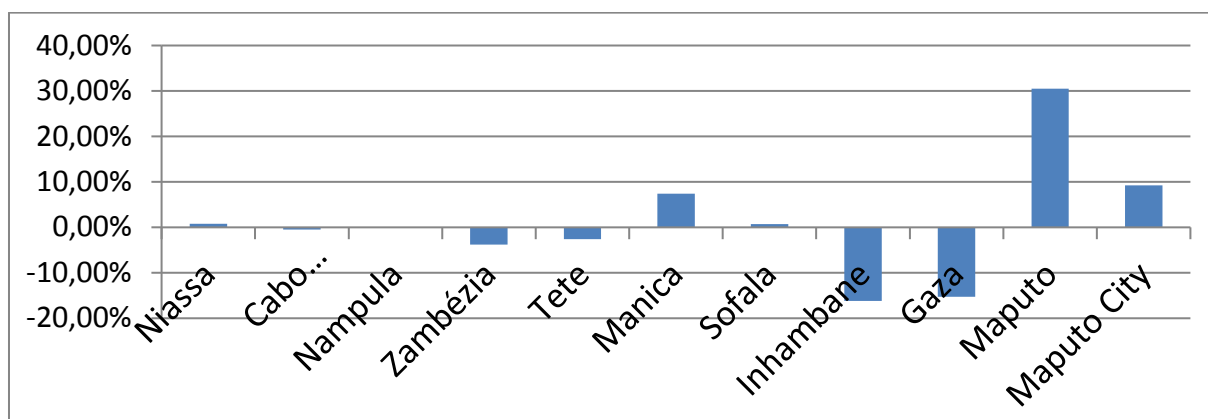
N.B: showing only countries where there is more than 8000 migrants
(Source: global bilateral migration database, World Bank)

Figure 6: National migration in Malawi (net migrant / province)



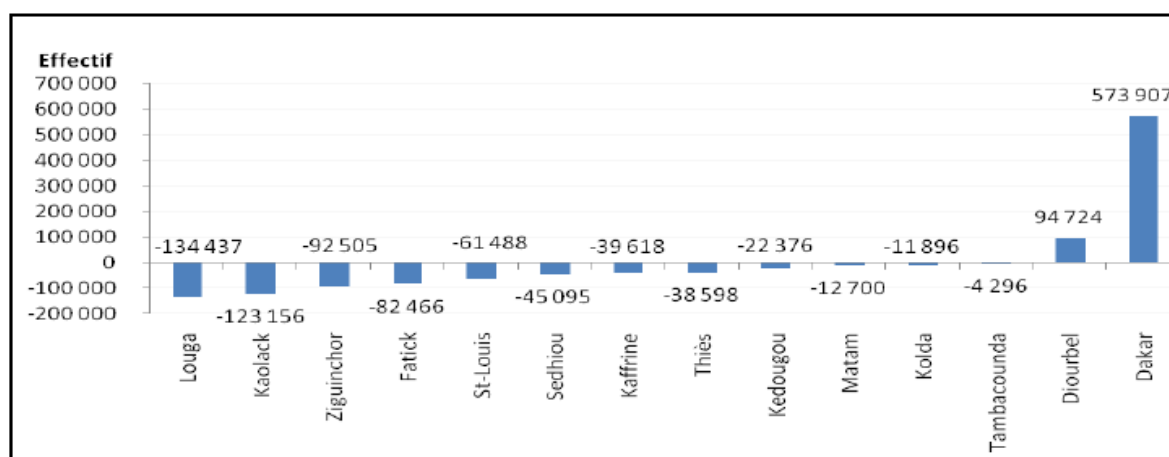
(Source: National census 2008)

Figure 7: Net migrant rate by province of Mozambique



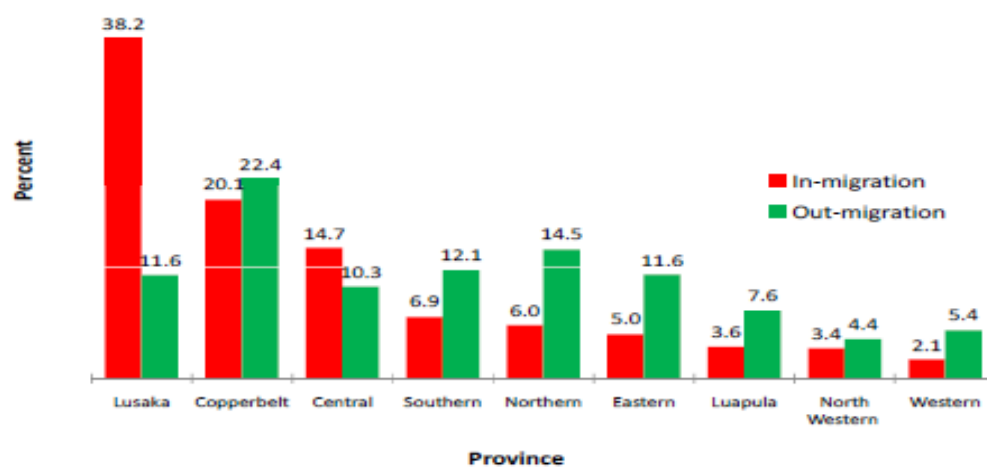
(Source: National census 2007)

Figure 8: Net migrant number by province of Senegal (source: National census 2013)



Source : ANSD, RGPHAE 2013

Figure 9: Percentage distribution of in or out-migrants by province in Zambia

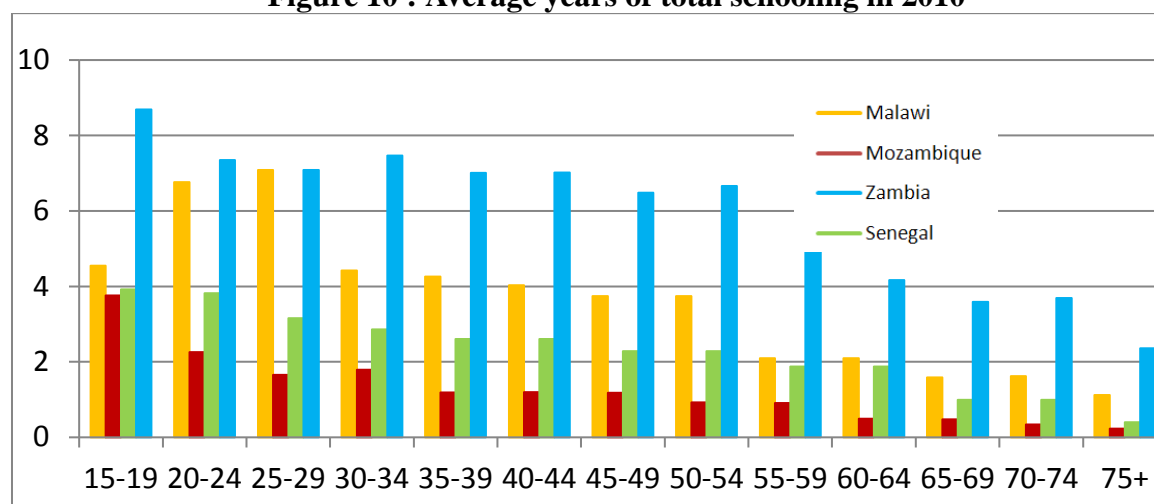


Source: 2010 Census of Population and Housing

Schooling

At a national level, another relevant indicator is the duration of schooling (cf. Figure 10 and Barro and Lee 2013). As we have shown before, education and training systems have a crucial role to play in youth activity creation. Zambia is again quite different comparing with others countries because the number of years of schooling is twice high than Senegal, Mozambique or Malawi (even if for the latter, the gap is narrowing for the two last decades).

Figure 10 : Average years of total schooling in 2010



(Source: Barro-Lee database, World bank)

Competition for access to land

Concerning agricultural resources, land availability (in terms of potential areas to cultivate) has not much meaning given at the national level, almost if there is a potential. In fact, in the same country, we can find regions with a high potential of arable land and others not. Therefore, we propose to consider this indicator at the territorial level. Nevertheless, the level of large-scale land acquisitions by private investors is a relevant criterion to sense the global competition for access to land. The differences are large across countries: 16% of arable land has been contracted in Mozambique, 5% in Senegal and 2.3% in Zambia. This rate is only 0.3% in Malawi. Therefore, the competition for access to land between private investors and family farming seems to be nearly the same at national scale in Senegal and Zambia.

Table 2: Agricultural area contracted and in operation by investors since 2000

	Area contracted and in operation (ha)	Arable land 2013 (ha)	% area in operation/arable land
Malawi	1 434	380 000	0,3%
Mozambique	927 206	5 650 000	16%
Sénégal	161 258	3 250 000	5%
Zambia	86 789	3 700 000	2,3%

(Source: Landmatrix, February 2016)

Synthesis

As we mentioned above, the choice of the Southern African comparison country with Senegal necessarily influences what we will see and not see on youth integration strategies (cf. Table 2):

- Senegal vs Malawi: testing "agricultural option" with work intensification and diversification of the economy with or without mobilization of migration strategies for rural youth;
- Senegal vs Mozambique: test "agricultural option" in a context of strong competition with capitalist agriculture and strong mobilization of migration by rural youth;
- Senegal vs Zambia: Test the "agricultural option" option where diversification options are different (mines in Zambia and services in Senegal).

In definitive, we retained a comparison between Senegal and Zambia. The latter is a mining country with a significant industrial sector and an undiversified export structure, whereas Senegal has a more diversified economy. In addition, even if both countries show a central role of agriculture in the occupation of the population, diversification options are different. In the two countries, the uneven and recent development of large and medium-scale land acquisitions can also interfere with youth strategies.

This initial characterization of the countries should be supplemented by a more detailed analysis of modes of integration of these countries into globalization, the nature of States, monetary regimes and main forms of competition.

Table 3: Synthesis of variant and invariant criteria depending on the possible between countries comparison

	Main invariants (parameters)	Main variants (variables)
Sénégal vs Malawi	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Low availability of arable land (almost in Malawi)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Structural change (agriculture-based vs intermediate)• International migrations• Average years of schooling• Export structuration
Sénégal vs Mozambique	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Structural change (intermediate countries)• International migrations	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Large-scale land acquisitions• Average years of schooling• Export structuration
Sénégal vs Zambia	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Structural change (intermediate countries)• Strong national migrations• Large-scale land acquisitions (medium competition for access to land)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Importance of industrial sector in Zambia (options for diversification)• Average years of schooling• Export structuration

2.2.3 The principles for the selection of study areas

As discussed above, we will identify variants and invariants in the study areas in order to limit the possible configurations of *capital-labour nexus*. Because of our first two hypotheses in the theoretical framework, we must choose an invariant (a variable that becomes as a parameter) among capital or land in order to observe differences of their accumulation patterns. We propose that the land should be the chosen "variant/invariant" between our study areas. In order to emphasize the importance of regional contexts and to analyze differences in capital accumulation patterns, two case studies will be chosen in every country selected on a criterion of land availability: one area where there is available land for agricultural development and another where there is land saturation. In total this will make four study cases.

By speaking of study area, we obviously don't limit our study to an administrative division but rather to a territory conception in terms of productive resources namely a coherent studied area as productive territory. As Lamarche, Nieddu, and Grouiez (2015) highlights, the territory is "the space where the structural forms (from the past) are hinged to the actions of local actors (that anticipate the future) in solving a production problem". The challenge will then be to link national and territorial levels in the analysis.

In order to characterize the productive resources of a territory, beyond the land criteria discussed above, several criteria have to be taken into account (see Table 1): agro-ecological context, types of agriculture, potential arable land, large-scale land acquisitions, migration dynamics, cross-sectoral diversification.

Finally, depending on the size of the territory, we will identify a locality (one or more villages) smaller but representative of the region to carry out our surveys.

3. CONCLUSION

Unlike a research approach based on the observation of a local socio-economic phenomenon inducing typically an inductive study, the definition of our research question is linked to a macro observation: the same demographic trends to which are facing SSA countries and the economic dynamics they involve, especially on structural change.

This global finding could involve a classic hypothetical-deductive approach in defining our topic: theory, hypothesis, validation by field experience. But, we support that the mobilization of conceptual categories (in our case: the productivity regime and capital-labour nexus concept) are crucial intermediaries for grasping empirical evidences. Their historicization, namely their adjustment according to local socio-economic contexts is part of an inductive approach. The challenge is therefore to find the balance between heuristic aspect of the concept (necessary for drawing generalities and contributing to theory building) and their fit with the observed phenomenon at the local level. We suggest conducting our research in this double movement deduction/induction.

Then, as we demonstrated, these concepts are helpful in building a comparative approach and the choice of countries and regions to compare. Unlike an in-depth monograph, a comparative

approach is necessarily selective in what it can give to see from the reality, but it will find its wealth in global findings that can be drawn from the comparison.

REFERENCES

- Abreu, Alexandre. 2012. "Migration, development and the articulation of modes of production." *Journal of Global Studies* no. 2 (3):16.
- AfDB, OECD, UNDP, and UNECA. 2012. *African Economic Outlook 2012 Promoting Youth Employment: Promoting Youth Employment*: OECD Publishing.
- Antoine, Philippe, Mireille Razafindrakoto, and Francois Roubaud. 2001. "Contraints de rester jeunes ? Evolution de l'insertion dans trois capitales africaines: Dakar, Yaoundé, Antananarivo." *Autrepart* no. 18:pp. 17-36.
- Barro, Robert J., and Jong Wha Lee. 2013. "A new data set of educational attainment in the world, 1950–2010." *Journal of Development Economics* no. 104:184-198. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2012.10.001>.
- Beaujeu, Raphaël, Michael Kolie, Jean-François Sempere, and Christine Udher. 2011. *Transition démographique et emploi en Afrique subsaharienne, Comment remettre l'emploi au coeur des politiques de développement*. Paris: Agence Française de Développement.
- Boyer, Florence, and Charlotte Guénard. 2014. "Sous-employés, chômeurs ou entrepreneurs : les jeunes face à l'emploi." *Autrepart* no. 71 (3):3. doi: 10.3917/autr.071.0003.
- Boyer, Robert. 2015. *Economie politique des capitalismes*: La Découverte.
- DIAL. 2007. Youth and Labour Markets in Africa ; A critical review of literature. In *Working Paper*. Paris Agence Française de Développement.
- Dimova, Ralitza, and Christophe J. Nordman. 2014. "Understanding the Links between Labour and Economic Development." *The European Journal of Development Research* no. 26 (4):387-396. doi: 10.1057/ejdr.2014.50.
- Dogan, M., and D. Pélassy. 1982. *Sociologie politique comparative: problèmes et perspectives*: Economica.
- Filmer, Deon, M. Louise Fox, and World Bank. 2014. *Youth employment in Sub-Saharan Africa, Africa development forum series*. Washington, D.C.: a copublication of the Agence Française de Développement and The World Bank.
- Fox, Louise, Lemma W. Senbet, and Witness Simbanegavi. 2016. "Youth Employment in Sub-Saharan Africa: Challenges, Constraints and Opportunities." *Journal of African Economies* no. 25 (suppl_1).
- Lacroix, André, Amédée Mollard, and François Bel. 1995. "L'approche sectorielle de la régulation : une problématique à partir de l'agriculture." In *La grande transformation de l'agriculture*, edited by Gilles Allaire and Robert Boyer. Paris: INRA-Economica.
- Lamarche, Thomas, Martine Nieddu, and Pascal Grouiez. 2015. A regulasionist method of meso-analysis. In *La théorie de la régulation à l'épreuve des crises*. Paris 10-12 juin 2015.
- Laurent, Catherine, Marie-Françoise Mouriaux, and Patrick Mundler. 2006. Combinaison d'activités professionnelles et multifonctionnalité de l'agriculture : une résurgence de la dimension territoriale ? In *Document de travail n°70*: Centre d'études de l'emploi.

- Losch, B., S. Freguin-Gresh, and E.T. White. 2012. *Structural Transformation and Rural Change Revisited: Challenges for Late Developing Countries in a Globalizing World*: World Bank Publications.
- Losch, Bruno. 2012. Agriculture: the key to the employment challenge. In *Perspective Development Strategies*: CIRAD.
- Losch, Bruno. 2013. Structural Change and Employment in Africa: State of Play and Development Challenges. In *Africa Rural Development Forum*. Cotonou, 2-4 May 2013: Cirad-Nepad.
- Losch, Bruno. 2016. A structural transformation to boost youth labour demand in sub-Saharan Africa: The role of agriculture, rural areas and territorial development. In *Working Paper n°204*. Geneva: ILO.
- McMillan, Margaret, Dani Rodrik, and Íñigo Verduzco-Gallo. 2014. "Globalization, Structural Change, and Productivity Growth, with an Update on Africa." *World Development* no. 63:11-32. doi: 10.1016/j.worlddev.2013.10.012.
- Mercandalli, Sara. 2015. "Migrations et recompositions des stratégies socio-économiques des familles rurales au Mozambique: une lecture institutionnelle des circulations contemporaines." *Mondes en développement* no. n° 172 (4). doi: 10.3917/med.172.0033.
- Michel, S., and X. Oudin. 2003. *La mobilisation de la main-d'oeuvre*. Edited by Travail et mondialisation: L'Harmattan.
- Okali, Christine, and James Sumberg. 2012. "Quick Money and Power: Tomatoes and Livelihood Building in Rural Brong Ahafo, Ghana*." *IDS Bulletin* no. 43 (6):44-57. doi: 10.1111/j.1759-5436.2012.00378.x.
- Oya, C., and N. Pontara. 2015. *Rural Wage Employment in Developing Countries: Theory, Evidence, and Policy*: Taylor & Francis.
- Oya, Carlos. 2010. Rural inequality, wage employment and labour market formation in Africa: Historical and micro-level evidence. edited by Working Paper. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Phélinas, Pascale. 2014. "Comment mesurer l'emploi dans les pays en développement ?" *Revue Tiers Monde* no. 2 (2):15. doi: 10.3917/rtm.218.0015.
- Philipps, Joschka. 2014. "Dealing with diversity: African youth research and the potential of comparative approaches." *Journal of Youth Studies* no. 17 (10):1362-1377. doi: 10.1080/13676261.2014.918252.
- Sartori, G. 1991. "Comparing and Miscomparing." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* no. July 1991 3:pp 243-257. doi: 10.1177/0951692891003003001
- Satterthwaite, David, and Cecilia Tacoli. 2003. The Urban Part of Rural Development: The role of small and intermediate urban centres in rural and regional development and poverty reduction. In *Human Settlements Working Paper*. London: IIED.
- Sumberg, James, Nana Akua Anyidoho, Jennifer Leavy, Dolf J. H. te Lintelo, and Kate Wellard. 2012. "Introduction: The Young People and Agriculture 'Problem' in Africa." *IDS Bulletin* no. 43 (6):1-8. doi: 10.1111/j.1759-5436.2012.00374.x.
- Théret, Bruno. 1997. "Méthodologie des comparaisons internationales, approches de l'effet sociétal et de la régulation : fondements pour une lecture structuraliste des systèmes nationaux de protection sociale." *L'année de la régulation* no. Vol. 1:pp 163-228.
- UNCTAD. 2014. World Investment Report 2014 Geneva.
- Vernières, Michel. 2008. Le courant de la régulation, un apport ancien mais caché à l'économie du développement ? Retour sur les travaux du séminaire « régulation et développement »(1996-1999). [<halshs-00348256>](#)